It is not necessary, however, that a young Chinwan man kill someone to be able to marry; he may buy his wife by paying copper wire, flannel, etc.

11: Haguenauer--34 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 584 Atayal

A Tayal marriage is arranged in this way: the girl is demanded by the man's family through an intermediary, who is usually the village chief. If she accepts, the man's family sends the girl's family some gifts, which are intended to serve as compensation to the parents for losing one member of the household. The father of the bride-to-be is anxious that these should be as valuable and as numerous as possible.

16: Müller--230 [4] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 584

Marriage is based on certain definite ceremonies which vary with each tribe. Among the Ataiyal and the Tso'o there are traces of the former custom of marriage by capture. Among the Ataiyal and in some of the Vonum tribes, the marriage ceremony consists of a contest between the bridegroom and a supposed rival. Among other tribes of the Vonum group marriage is based on an exchange (wife stealing), and among the Tsarisen, Paiwan, Pyuma, and Amis tribes the marriage ceremony consists of an exchange of presents.

20: Alvarez--257 [4] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 884, 583, 721

"All the savages are extremely warlike, bold and fanatic of unbounded freedom. They were always disposed to take up arms in defence of their liberty. The bride price is a head of an enemy (head hunters), which at the same time is a proof that the youth has become man. When he has brought home the head of his first slain enemy, the young man thereafter is regarded as adult."

21: Asai--2 [6] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 584

"All tribes have the custom of paying a 'bride price' for a wife. This consists of gifts, cooking pans, clothing. The young man needs one or two years of courtship before the girl will accept his proposal. In the Ami (Yami?) there is a kind of test marriage. The young man makes a visit every night to the girl's house and sleeps with her over a period of one or two years. Marriage is on the basis of free choice."

21: Asai--6 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583

"Bride-price is paid even in the matriarchal tribes. Among the Ami the amount is very small, but the bridegroom brings something to the bride."

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 582 Atayal

Generally the young man takes his bride, who is usually a few years older than himself, home to his clan. The bride's family thus loses a worker, and is compensated therefore by the bridegroom or his family to the extent of 25 to 30 rokoschkahas. [MC: ornamented clothing used as money].

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Fôrmosan Aborigines
116, 591, 583 Atayal

Sometimes, if the bridegroom can not get together the price of the bride, or if the girl is the only living child of her parents, the bridegroom enters the family of the bride, and works out the price of the bride, so to speak, in two years. During this time, he and his wife live in the small adjoining hut.

24: Anonymous--91 [4] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 591, 842

The natives regard the birth of a daughter as a fortunate event, for a boy will leave the house sooner or later to live with his wife's parents, while the daughter will bring home a son-in-law. When a girl desires to marry she goes into the community house (kung-chich). Her suitor seranades her with a jew's harp (k'-ou-ch'-in), and she comes out of the house to unite with him. If he is agreeable to her, she informs her parents, a drinking bout is held to which the neighbors are invited, and this concludes the ceremony.

25: Plaut--61 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 583, 787

The Vonum still observe the practice of kidnapping the bride. The young man goes to her house with a large group of his friends, he has a mock war with her relatives, then seizes her and carries her off to his house. After she has lived with him for several days, the relatives on both sides gather and celebrate the wedding with drinking and singing. During the feast the so-called Shui-sha-lien-hua-Vonum stage a mock battle, and it is considered a lucky omen for the marriage if blood flows. The Vonum also have exchange marriage, for a young man may wed the sister of his friend, and give him his own sister as a wife.

25: Plaut--61 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 583 Tsou

Among the Tsoo a young man carves a hair pin of stag antlers, and then sends it to the girl he is courting. If she accepts the gift, she is engaged. The marriage consists in a kidnapping, which the groom accomplishes with the aid of his friends. Custom decrees that after the girl has spent one night with the groom, she must slip away and return to her parents; then after three days he comes in a ceremonious fashion to get her. The end of the festival is a drinking party.

25: Plaut--61 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 586, 591 Tsalisen

The Tsarisen have a match-maker. If a young man decides that he wants to marry, he gets the consent of his parents and then arranges with a match-maker to woo the girl. If her parents agree to the wedding, the two families exchange a gift of wine, and that amounts to the conclusion of the contract. The marriage takes place about a month later, and at that time the young couple has to drink wine together. The wife lives in the house of her parents until her first child is born, and then she moves to her husband's home. If there is no child after a year and a day, the husband stays away from the home of his parents-in-law, and that amounts to a divorce.

25: Plaut--61 [4] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 591

When a young man of the Spayowan tribe wants to marry a girl, he carries a bundle of kindling and a vessel full of water in front of her house. If the family takes them inside the dwelling, it means that they look with favor upon the match. The youth moves to their house, helps them with the work for a year and then he can take the girl home and celebrate the wedding. At this time he has to give a present to the girl's relatives, and it consists of wine and betel nuts.

25: Plaut--61 [5] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583 Puyuma

In the Puyuma tribe the young man carries a bundle of kindling to the home of his future wife when he is wooing her.

25: Plaut--62 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583 Amis

The Amis act in a more ceremonious fashion. The suitor makes 20 bundles of faggots between 6 and 7 feet long out of the twigs of a bush, which is called Wahass. He carries four of them to the bride's house on the first day, and one a day from then on; then the wedding is held.

25; Plaut-- 62 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 583, 836 Pepo-hoan

In recent times the Peipo seem to have adopted the custom of marriage for the groom has to give the parents-in-law a certain price for their daughter; this may be an imitation of the Chinese custom. One branch of the Peipo, the Tatso, have the custom of giving their daughters a hut of their own when they are of marriageable age; the girls may receive their lovers here.

The moral code of the natives demands that they take revenge on the enemy who robbed them of their fertile land and sent them to the barren mountains. This tradition is handed down from generation to generation, and it is believed that it is actually a good deed to obtain the head of one of the enemies of the country. (2) Their revenge

> 2. For that reason head hunting has increased during the first few years; the Japanese, without harming the natives themselves, have penetrated into their region and exploited it.

is therefore never personal. It is not a question of decapitating the man who has felled a certain camphor tree, for instance. Everyone who belongs to the enemy's party is liable for the common guilt with his head. Since it is also considered an act of courage to get the head of an enemy, this trophy is necessary to one who wants to marry. The bridegroom places the head, a bloody token of his ability to become a husband, at the feet of his bride. A second reason for this custom is a superstition which cannot be eradicated. Thus, in the north, the harvest festival in honor of the gods is celebrated by an offering consisting of several human heads.

On Formosa, headhunting takes the place of a procession held to implore the deity for rain or sun. Finally, headhunting also takes the place of a trial by ordeal. If a

case cannot be decided, [611] the chief of a tribe, the guardian of the law, proclaims that he who is the first to bring back the head of an enemy, is in the right.

34: Del Re--27-28 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116 583 Yami

"Unlike what is [28] the case in other Formosan tribes, the prospective bridegroom does not have recourse to his female relatives as go-betweens, nor does he need to present his bride with a rich dowry in the shape of petticoats, amulets or other ornaments, the gift of a few blue beads being considered sufficient. (8)"

8 cpr. VF, Pt. I, p. 7 for an interesting description of the nature of the dowry.

37: Steere--314 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 583, 241, 533, 784, 609 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan, in times of scarcity, frequently sell their daughters to the Chinese and Pepo-whans, who take them as supplementary wives and make them useful as interpreters in thus bartering with the savages. While we were among the Kale-whan the chief offered to sell us three girls of the tribe at twenty dollars each, or its equivalent, in barter on fee simple. The poor girls were dressed up in all the finery the tribe possessed, one of them having a beautiful stem of wild red lilies in her hair, and were kept singing nearly all night before our door. They are a very musical people, and at night a large number collected in the house of the chief and the women would sing a monotonous but musical chant apparently as long as they could hold their breath, and then the men would answer in the same strain, winding up every time with a loud inspiration. We went among them during their seed time, and there seemed to be some taboo connected with it that forbade them entering their houses, and we found them all sitting around outside with closed doors, or at least with the slabs of slate that served for doors in their places. About midnight the taboo passed off enough so that they entered their houses, but there was still something that forbade them trading with us or assisting us, they even refusing at first to give us fire. Whenever one of the tribe, led by the display of cloth, scissors, etc., that we had with us, was tempted to trade us a pipe or an ornamented knife-scabbard, some one would pronounce the fatal word parici, and the trade was immediately dropped. There were

some rare plants and land shells in the ravines which I wished to collect, but the savages seemed to think that it would bring some great evil upon them if they allowed me to take away any thing, and they almost compelled me by force to desist, pulling me by the arms and shouting parici in my ears. We were told that this taboo would pass off within four or five days, but we had no time to wait and so did not see them in their usual state."

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows: 613

a) A household is the nucleus of this lineage system.

b) The lineage who first established their house in the village is regarded as the grand lineage or *mamatsayiran*.

c) The house and the name of the house are succeeded too by primogeniture regardless of sex. The heir or *usam* must remain in the house and succeed to the name.

d) Each offspring other than the heir who is married to the heir of another household or establish a new household and take a new house name if married to one who is not the heir, is called the lesser lineage or *maluwtsivtzik*.

e) The rule of succession of a lesser lineage is similar to that of a grand lineage. The son of a lesser lineage is degraded to become commoner or *tala'alalak*.

f) Offspring of a vassal household other than the heir are degraded as commoners.

g) If the household has no heir, it is succeeded by the second son or daughter, even he or she is married out. This second son or daughter who has established a lesser lineage of his own, will give his own lineage up, and return to his prime house to succeed to the lineage. If a lesser lineage has no heir, it may be succeeded to by members from the grand lineage. The vassal will take care of the grand lineage when the heir to succeed the lineage is not yet decided.

B. Marriage rules

a) Residence 582 428 611

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called *matsavay*. Their offsprings belong to the same rank. 582

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called *alupua*. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too. 565

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called *alupoja*. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too. 556

The Paiwan practise endogamy but not in a strict sense. It may be estimated by the quantity of the bride price. A certain quantity of bride price is set for a certain 582 565 583

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

582 56 556 583 class. A man of the lower class must pay as much as or more than that of a upper class member if he wants to marry one above himself. The lower class member does not marry one above him because he can not afford to do so.

C. Incest prohibition

601 835 The kindred group of the Paiwan is bilateral. The present writer has assigned it as occasional bi-sexual lineage. No emphasis upon either the paternal or the maternal consanguinities is made. No distinction between lineal and collateral is made in addressed terms, but it is made in indirect and collective terms. Those who have the same parents are called *maluvlujulunya*, those who have the same grand parents, *malusiatsətsəl*, those have the same grand-grand parents, *malusiatsalaitaita*, and those have the same grand-grand-grand parents, *malusiapatsətsəv*. *malusiatsəlsəl* are prohibited to marry. *malusiatsalaitsata* are also called *naya²aya patsəl*, they are allowed to marry. *malusiapatsətsev* are also called *naya²aya lawatsə patsəl*, they are the most prefered mates. Relative beyond the *malusiapatsətsəv* are called *aolav*. *aolav* are allowed to marry with each other, but they are not as preferable as the *malusiapatsətsəv*, and even the *malusiatsalaitaita*. It is noteworthy that these marriage prohibitions are not to supplement the rule of exogamy but serve as the limitations of the rule of endogamy.

TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 The tribal chieftainship of Chala'abus village differs with the dual chieftainship of the North-Paiwan, and may be regarded as a kind of mutual independence of the three powers: political, religious, and military. The political and economic powers are in the hands of the Chimo chiefs. The religious powers are equally distributed over the chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. The nomination of a *para²are* or priest is determined by a kind of divination called *paiwata*. The military powers fall in hands of the commoners. The office of the priest of the headhunting ritual (*para²are na ara*) is held hereditary by the *tsivulayay* household of commoner. The tribal chiefs and their offices are listed as follows:

A. Political and economic chiefs:

a) *avuamay* (big chief)·····*ruvanian*
maluvtsivtsik (consanguineous chiefs)·····*tsalugi*, *tfalas* (south), *tfalas* (north)
naitsu amumax (affinal chiefs)·····*luzigway*, *atsinaiay*, *alifulay*, *tara²atea*, *gumul*, *matsiliat*, *voto*, *tfaluvayiu*.

b) *pinairaratsə* (representatives of the big chief of other villages)·····*tfalas* (north) a representative of the *tsulivway*, the big chief of Kunanao village.
tavalay a representative of the *karayiray*, the big chief of Kulalus village.

c) *atsir atsipay* (vassals of the chiefs)·····*ruvanian*, *tsapalai*, *tavalay*, *maiay*,

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
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565 are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered *lionpao* (long clothe), *koŋ na kinima²aŋ* (long skirt) and *kasuja tsino at sevanaŋ* (trousers) by chiefess.
291
[301] Ornaments, especially *lailai* (feather ornaments), *patal na paŋaŋiliŋ* (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), *ta²ata* (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), *tsalaral* (silver shoulder ornament), *aliatpula* (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

565 **E. Right to perform ceremonies**
554 a) Felicitation on having an elder offspring is only performed by the nobles. A gun and some iron ware must be sent to the maternal relatives on this occasion. This is called *ismiçi*.

565 b) A bride price is called *çiuliçi*. According to the social status, it is divided into three classes: *mamatsaŋiraŋ*, *maluvtsivtsik* and *tala²alalak*. *mamatsaŋiran* consists of
583 a piece of cultivated land (*atunaŋaŋ*) a household of serf (*wadis*), five kinds of iron articles; *maluvtsivtsik* only two or three kinds of iron article; and *tala²alalak* only two or three iron articles. The marriage ceremony also differs between nobles and commoners.

764 c) Funeral rites: At the death of a chief, the whole village wears mourning
565 dresses for five days, *maluvtsivtsik* and *utsiputsipoŋ* a month. At the death of a *maluvtsivtsik*, his relatives and *utsiputsipoŋ* wear mourning dresses for a month, and his *umutel* five days. At the death of a commoner, his relatives wear weeds for a month.

565 **F. Privilege from criminal trial.**
[687] a) A commoner will be fined a penalty of a pig, a bottle of wine, several iron articles by his lese-majesty (*napamuŋatsə*) to a chief. A noble commits no lese-majesty.
[554] b) If a commoner's house is carved, his body tattooed, and his clothes decorated, he is regarded as having committes a crime of arrogation (*napatsəra*). He will be fined a penalty of the same as that of a lese-majesty.
[685] c) The nobles commit no crime of robbery (*tsəmav*).
[682] d) A murderer must pay the equivalence of the price of the murdered which differs according to one's social status. If a commoner murdered a noble, all properties of his own as well as his brothers will be confiscated, and he himself will be exiled from the village.
[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adulltery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.